1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

expressed also in the speeches by the marriage sureties. The couple are exhorted to refer disputes to the sureties, and to consult the diviner in case of sickness.[1] After the rite these two sureties have special responsibilities towards the couple; grievances are referred to them, and they must be present when adultery cases are heard in court. If the marriage witness ceremony has not been performed, the relationship is not regarded as legal and no adultery compensation can be claimed by the husband.

Divorce used to be a private affair, which was merely signalized by one party giving to the other an arrow as a token of separation.[2] Nowadays all divorce cases go to court. The woman is usually asked to choose between her husband and the adulterer, and the compensation paid to the former, if she decides to leave him, is higher—amounting to about 10*s*. A man can be sent away from the village by his wife's kin, but if he has given no grounds for divorce he can claim compensation and will also take back any gifts made to his wife. A few small gifts to his mother-in-law are not reclaimed. Divorces are easily obtained and frequent. Grounds for the divorce of a man may include failure to pay hut tax, one of the specific duties of the husband.

The custom of making a marriage payment is recorded by Johnson[3] (on the east coast of Lake Nyasa) as a relatively new adoption. When given it is divided between the bride's father, mother, and mother's brother and brother.[4]

Slavery

Domestic slavery was an important institution in the Yao social system. Slaves were obtained by capture, purchase, or in compensation for injury.[5] A man would pay a debt by giving slaves (wives or members of his matrilineal kin group) to his creditors.[6] A man might voluntarily enslave himself to a man having charge of many women, as a means of obtaining a wife.[7] The children of a free man and a slave woman were not emancipated, as their father could not take them from the village of their mother's master, who had the right to sell them.[8] Slaves took part in the ordinary life of the village; women slaves ranked as junior wives of their masters and shared the usual work of women. Men might be supplied with guns for hunting or might accompany their masters to war, trade for them, spin, weave, sew, make baskets.[9] The institution of domestic slavery was an expression of a dominant motif in Yao culture—the association of status with a large number of dependents. Its abolition by the British was in itself a major blow to the prestige and authority of the chiefs.

Information about the social organization of the Yao in Portuguese East Africa is scanty, but it is in agreement with what is known of the Nyasaland Yao; Heckel, who knew the Yao in Lindi district, Tanganyika Territory, confirms the correctness of Stannus's account of the South Nyasa Yao.

The Yao came into Nyasaland in small parties of kinsmen. Their experience and their superior weapons soon enabled them to dominate the Nyanja among whom they settled, and today they dominate the population of the Southern Province. They are organized into loose groups of villages, under petty, independent chiefs. They seem

[1] Stannus, A. 1910, p. 243; Hynde, 1895; Johnson, J., 1910, pp. 69–73; Macdonald, 1882, vol. i; Werner, 1906, pp. 129–32.
[2] 1910, pp. 70–3.
[3] Stannus, A. 1910, p. 280.
[4] Stannus, A. 1910, p. 280.
[5] Werner, 1906, pp. 130–3; Stannus, A. 1910, p. 237.
[6] Brigand, 1909, p. 102 (not a reliable source).
[7] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 160–7.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Werner, 1906, p. 273.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

It is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of the sorority-group in everyday life. There is hardly a social situation in which the relationships of a man to his dependent female matrilineal kin are not involved. Probably marriage is the most frequent context in which his duties to and responsibilities for his sorority-group emerge. When a man wishes to marry a woman, he must get the consent of her brother. Ideally, it is a woman's brother who gives the consent, and if one asks a Yao how he gets married to any particular woman he will answer immediately, 'You go to ask her brother.' When consent has been obtained the woman's brother seeks out the man's brother and formally meets him, thereby setting the public seal on the relationships between the man and the woman. This gives the husband particular rights over his wife and her activities. After this, the difficulties of any of the marriage partners are the concern of the two sponsoring relatives (*acinamangosive*) whom I have called 'marriage sureties'. They meet to discuss the illnesses of either of the marriage partners or their children and try to settle the differences that arise in the married life of their wards. They must be consulted before the marriage can end, and in fact they perform the act that ends the marriage, i.e. one pays a nominal sum of say 2*s.* to the other.

According to the Yao, women are quite helpless in their relationships with others, in illness or in any court cases, and must always have a man to look after them. They are seen to be as dependent on him as children are upon their parents. A statement made to me by old Naliwa, a man who has been looking after a sorority-group for years, reflects this attitude of the men towards the women in their care.

These dependent women (*mbumbe*) are as annoying as children to look after. They are *misoni*[1] indeed. If a child is ill they go to tell their brother who says, 'Very well, I shall come to see the child.' If he is not very quick to do it they are likely to be backbiting. If he finds the child very ill he goes to tell the marriage sureties of its father, and they go to a diviner to look for medicine for the sick child. Then the sisters say that he is a good man because he gets on with the job when a person is ill.

Soon the child's mother becomes ill. Someone goes to tell her brother who says that he will come to see her. He visits her husband's

[1] Backbiting. See Chap. VI, pp. 137–8.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

village but called it Mtuweni and not Mpumbe village. The positions of the lineages in the village would have become inverted, and the patrilaterally-linked lineage become the dominant lineage. In this way villages may change their name or they may acquire two names, as happened to Mlungu village in Nyambi's area. Here a man called Masalu took over the control of the village. He was the son of the previous Mlungu and the village is known to-day by either of these names. The interesting point is what will happen when he dies, because there are now sisters' sons in a distant lineage old enough to take charge of the village. The rule is, as we have seen, that the matrilineal relatives always have the first claim.

Paternity and Segmentation

It is interesting to note that the paternity of brothers or sisters is not a differentiating feature in these social relationships. In the discussions which have hinged upon the care of sorority-groups I have never heard the paternity of brothers and sisters brought up as a reason why they should hold more or less closely together. The father is important in social life as I point out later, but while groups may be linked through paternity, it does not lead to a second principle of segmentation within the lineage.[1] This is manifestly the result of the fundamental difference in a system of matrilineal descent, where paternity is of less consequence than maternity is in a patrilineal structure. Among the Yao, unlike the patrilineal peoples of Southern and Northern Africa, no marriage payments are made; divorce is easy and frequent, and there are no disputes about the custody of children, who always belong to their mother's group whether they are illegitimate or not.[2] This is consistent with the view of the husband as a mere begetter of children. Among the Yao, the

[1] This aspect of segmentation in patrilineal peoples, with different wives of men as points of fission, is brought out particularly in Evans-Pritchard, E. E., *The Nuer*, Oxford University Press (London, 1940), and *Marriage and the Family among the Nuer*, R.-L.I. Paper, No. 11 (1944); Fortes, M., *The Dynamics of Clanship*, and *The Web of Kinship*; Kuper, H., *A Black Aristocracy*, Oxford University Press (London, 1947).

[2] This has been worked out in Gluckman, M., 'Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal', in Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., and Forde, C. D. (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (London, 1950).

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

him. The woman in the meantime had run to Chiwalo's hut half a mile away. Here she complained to the chief that Mwanace wanted to kill her. Chiwalo refused to listen to her complaint and sent for Ali Kasunka. When he had come and explained the sequence of events, he continued saying that he would like to take the case to court. Chiwalo, who was Ali Kasunka's wife's father's sister's son (hence a classificatory younger brother) and whose henchman Ali Kasunka was, refused to arbitrate in the case but referred it to Kawinga. On the day of the case the woman's husband came back from the Army. The case was tried and eventually the court assessors awarded a damages claim of £3 to be paid by Mwanace to his sister. The husband, at the same time, said that he could not remain married to her because whenever he saw her he would think that she had slept with her brother and in court he gave Ali Kasunka a marriage termination payment. The tension between Ali Kasunka and his 'sister's son' did not end there however. When they got back to the village Ali Kasunka remonstrated with Mwanace saying, 'Are you not ashamed to have married your sister?' Mwanace said that he could not stand that sort of thing and went back to live uxorilocally.

A crucial point in this case history is that the women did not like Mwanace. Almost certainly there would have been a split in the village had the women had more confidence in Mwanace. The tension between Ali Kasunka and Mwanace, although the conflict is inter-generational, started, as it consistently does, from the relationships of a man to the women of his matrilineage. Without the support of the women, younger brothers or sister's sons are impotent against the power of their senior relatives. It is only when they can induce the women to follow them and to leave their rivals that they can found a new village and thereby begin to earn prestige. Therefore, although the men are the active agents in bringing about a physical act of fission, they are in fact only making manifest a situation which is latent within the lineage.

The position of the senior male matrilineal relative is of fundamental importance in questions involving segmentation. His position is seen most clearly in the dominant matrilineage, in which the name of the village is inherited. The Yao practise 'positional succession'. A man not only succeeds to his mother's brother's name but also to the position of the mother's brother in the social structure as a whole.[1] It follows that when the

[1] See Chap. V, p. 121.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

rationalized in the Yao theory of conception.[1] They believe that after intercourse the semen clots and embeds itself in the womb. From this the child develops and is nurtured by the mother until it is due to be born. Subsequent acts of intercourse add semen to the body of the child and make it fat. Semen from other men may be used, too, to feed the child in its intra-uterine life, but its body and blood are derived from the semen which first clotted. In Yao opinion there can be one father only.

Not all acts of intercourse lead to impregnation because sometimes, for various reasons, especially in immature women, the semen fails to clot. There is therefore, to the Yao way of thinking, some difficulty in determining the 'father' of a child. This difficulty is met by the belief that the intra-uterine child in some way knows about the doings of its parents and in particular knows who its father is. It therefore refuses to be born unless its father is recognized.[2] Hence if a child is born without undue puerperal complications it is assumed to be the offspring of the man who is currently living with its mother. If labour is prolonged, however, the relatives call for confessions (*kupaca*) from both husband and wife. The husband's confessions are usually formal and simple. The wife's confessions on the other hand are detailed and complete. She confesses the name of an adulterer, and her midwives, including the husband's sisters as his witnesses, wait for the next birth-spasm. If the child is not born at this spasm she is told to confess again. Only after she has confessed to a lover whom the Yao assume to be the genitor will the child eventually be born. After this the aggrieved husband summons the adulterer to court and he is made to accept the fatherhood of the child.

The act of formally accepting the paternity of a child, which is also done when a woman has a child out of wedlock, confers rights of two types on the child. The first set of rights is directly economic and physical. The father is expected to give the mother salt, money for relish, and cloth to help her rear the child. But this side of a father's duties to his child ceases as soon as another man marries the woman. The new husband than takes over the

[1] I have dealt with this more fully in *Marriage among the Machinga Yao*.

[2] It also refuses to be born for other reasons, but the first considered is always the adultery of its parents. See p. 138.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

593 586 economic responsibility of all the woman's children regardless of whether he has begotten them or not. For example, gossips say that a woman married my clerk so that she could have her son initiated. The costs and fees for this boy's initiation amounted to over a pound.

593 602 The other set of rights that paternal recognition confers on the child are the moral rights against his paternal kinsmen. A person may turn to his 'father's people' (*kucitati*) in times of dire need, especially if one of them is rich. This right persists after divorce, though the children are adult and otherwise economically independent. For example, a woman who was married to a labour migrant needed clothes badly. She turned to Chiwalo her father, though he had been divorced from her mother for more than 15 years. People in trouble often run away to their father's village and find shelter there. A man who wanted medicine for success in gambling asked his father for it. Another who had broken a sexual taboo confessed to his father who found suitable medicine for him. In each of those relationships there was an intimate personal element.[1] A person has the moral right to appeal to his father or paternal kinsmen, but he has no legally enforceable right to demand help. He has to rely on their kindness and charity. There are few fathers who would deny their children's requests if they are reasonable, but they can if they wish to.

582 586 613 The divorce rate is high among the Yao [2] and a typical family of five uterine siblings may have three fathers. Furthermore, a man should not marry into the lineage segment where his brother has married, so that the patrilateral kinship ties of the members of matrilineages tend to spread widely in the vicinity of the village. The effect of this is that the members of the lineage as a whole have widespread connections with neighbours upon whom they may rely in times of distress. But of the individual members of the matrilineage only a few share the same group

[1] Compare Fortes's description of uterine kinship among the Tallensi: '[It] is essentially by a personal bond, a bond of mutual interest and concern uniting individual to individual', *The Web of Kinship*, 37.

[2] Eight of every ten men and women over the age of 40 have experienced a divorce at some time of their lives. Excluding the contingency of death a married couple have only 30 chances in 100 of living together for 20 years. For details, see *Marriage among the Machinga Yao*.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

pregnant, the meeting of the sponsors will have to be postponed until after the ceremony connected with her first quickening with child, *Litiso*.[1] This ceremony must be performed whether the girl is regularly married or not. One party cannot ask the other for permission that both ceremonies take place at the same time. The answer would be given, "You are asking me to kill two beasts with one bullet." In rare cases, the chief may sanction the marriage and *Litiso* ceremonies taking place at about the same time, i.e. the marriage is arranged before the child is born.

Widowhood. A widow is considered unclean for a period after the death of her husband. She wears a band of palm-leaf or string around her forehead. When the period is passed and some man wishes to marry her, arrangement is made with some other man to cohabit with her for payment; she is then said to be clean and can go to her prospective husband. This ceremony is called *kutema nyonji*, "to cut the strings," or in Chinyanja, *ku-dula mlazo*, "to cut the palm"; unless it is performed, the new husband will sicken. The man introduced for the purpose is called by the Yao, *hitusu*, the "hyaena," "he who comes by night."

Divorce. From time to time, married people disagree and one deserts the other. If the woman leaves the man, he has a claim against her and the man to whom she goes for all the clothes he has supplied her with during their married life. The husband usually sides with the wife's relatives and arranges that they look after the children; he does not claim them. When the husband and wife mutually wish to separate, they both meet with their sponsors and everything is duly arranged. The husband will give his wife an arrow, saying, "*Mpumbo* (the arrow)," meaning, "If I come back, may it kill me." The place of the arrow may be taken by a bullet or any other object, even a piece of grass. The man will add, "*Suuka, suuka, no likoswe!* (rattling, rattling, it is a rat!)," inferring that if his wife hears something rattling in the house, it is a rat, not himself trying to come back. There is no definite payment of compensation. If the woman marries again, she presents the "arrow" to her second husband as a sign that she has been freed from her first marriage; without this token, no man would marry her.

Actual adultery was in the old days very rare owing to the strict enforcement of rules, and the case of a woman demanding divorce on account of the adultery of her husband formed a *cause célèbre*. The case heard by the chief would last for days and hundreds of people would come to listen. Neighboring Anyanja pleaders would be invited to speak and great excitement prevailed, as these latter would be accompanied by their villagers, who, to the accompaniment of continuous drumming, would sing, "*Mbawala anakudwa m'nkonde*,[2] (The bush-buck has run his head into the net)," while they ran about running their heads into their game-nets.

Other causes of separation are neglect of duty, sterility of the wife, and habitual death of the children born.

[1] Vide infra, p. 274. [2] Chin.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

of patrilateral kinsmen, so that these bonds are personal and distinctive for each member.

The Development of the Corporate Identity of Patrilaterally-linked Groups

The parent–child relationship is reflected in the structural relationships of a patrilateral group to the dominant matrilineage. Children are less strongly tied to their father than to their matrilineal kinsmen. Usually when a woman dies or is divorced while living virilocally, her children return to her matrilineal village. If the children are too young to express their own wishes, their mother's brother comes for them and they are formally returned to their village of origin. Occasionally children who have grown up in their father's village, especially if they have married their cross-cousins there, refuse to move back to their matrilineal village. They prefer to remain in their father's matrilineal village where they know people more intimately. In time, as they grow older, the women have daughters who may marry uxorilocally and thus a section of a foreign matrilineage begins to develop in the village.

The village as a social unit is more closely integrated when the children who are living there with their father are still young. They do not yet form a corporate group within the village. Their affairs are supposed to be controlled by their mother's brother, but in fact the headman, who is usually their father or a paternal kinsman, may settle many of their minor difficulties and find medicine for lesser illnesses, without bothering their mother's brother. When the children become adults and begin to assert their own wills the position in the village becomes more unstable. As the daughters grow up and marry, their brothers become their junior marriage sureties. If the mother's brother lives far away, the father of the children may be the senior marriage surety. He still has a personal attachment to his children, but his sons' relationships with him may now become affected by structural elements as they tend to interact, with him and others, in certain situations as representatives of corporate groups. As the village develops a son takes over the position of senior marriage surety to the headman's wife's descendants and he becomes the senior male lineage member, while his sisters' sons begin to take over responsibilities for their sorority-groups.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

for witchcraft were carried out by strangling with a piece of calico at a place appointed for the purpose some miles from the chief's village.

There was no case against a man who seduced an unbetrothed girl, the latter being considered entirely at fault.

After divorce, the children always remained with the mother. The man left his wife after the case, saying, "I will take my spear and some of the goats and chickens, but the children will always know their father."

Murder was a question of compensation to the deceased's relatives and was not punished by death.

Stealing was a serious offence but many who were found guilty were rather despised than punished. The thief with the stolen goods tied about his body but otherwise stripped naked would be driven through the village and prodded with sticks to the sound of drums and hoots of derision. Most crimes, however, might be punished by exacting compensation. Payment took the form of goods or slaves. In the case of murder, the accused might have to pay several slaves to the deceased's relatives, and in addition, a fine to the chief for spilling blood, consisting perhaps of one slave. The amount of compensation expected was mentioned by the plaintiff in the case. One of the expressions used was, "My compensation must cover an ant hill," meaning enough slaves, standing hand in hand, to surround an ant hill; ant hills in this country are sometimes very big. If a man had no slaves, he would send his relatives or he himself might be forced to become the slave of the plaintiff. There is a saying anent this practice:

Chitumbili wachitwile mchila wakwe!
The monkey they tied (with) tail his (own).

Slaves passed over to a man in payment for crime became free men; they were an addition to the village and might even be adopted in place of a murdered individual.

When compensation was made by the defendant to the plaintiff, the latter always returned some part of it as a sign that friendship was again established.

Goods or money received in compensation for murder, i.e. blood money, might not go for the purchase of food or clothing. Detection of a guilty party by means of magic and proof of guilt or otherwise by ordeal poison are dealt with elsewhere.

Bluffing anyone into giving something for nothing, obtaining goods by false pretence, was not considered a crime, as anyone was "fair game." For instance, a party of youths would waylay a man with a load of fish, saying they had been ordered by their headman to commandeer it. If the man parted with his fish, so much the worse for him; if he showed fight, he was respected and friendship made with a give-and-take of fish and snuff. Such bluffing is called *kulpa nsuso*, "to eat with them." To add to their appearance of *bona fides*, the party might have secretly borrowed some well-known article belonging to their headman.

IT SHOULD be noted that only 27—11 per cent. of the whole sample of 246 women—had never married and that 23, 80 per cent., of these (or 10 per cent. of the total) were under the age of 20 and therefore stood a good chance of yet marrying. Furthermore, 2 of the 4 women over 20 who had not married were known definitely to be incapable of marrying (one is insane and the other has violent epileptic fits).

There were 53 women who were divorcees or widows (21·5 per cent.), but it should be noted that 27 (or 11 per cent. of the 246 women) were over the age of 45 and therefore were past, or nearly past, the child-bearing period. Those in the younger age-groups stood good chances of remarrying. Table IV shows that though the divorce rate is high[1] remarriage is common. By the time a woman's child-bearing period has ended she has been married on the average 1·7 times. Few marriages are contracted after child-bearing ceases.

TABLE IV. *Marriages and Dissolutions of Marriage experienced by all Women over the Age of 13*

Present age	*No. of women*	*No. of marriages contracted*	*No. of divorces experienced*	*No. widowed*	*No. still married*	*No. of marriages per woman*	*No. of divorces per woman*	*No. of marriages per woman ended by death of husband*	*No. of marriages per woman still existing*
13–20	45	22	1	..	21	0·49	0·02	0·00	0·46
20–30	79	104	36	4	64	1·32	0·45	0·05	0·81
30–45	70	121	50	16	55	1·73	0·71	0·23	0·79
Over 45	52	88	29	34	25	1·70	0·57	0·65	0·48
Total	246	335	116	54	165	1·36	0·47	0·22	0·67

These statistics, showing the early age of marriage, the early commencement of child-bearing, the high incidence of marriage among women, and the high rate of remarriage during the child-bearing period, all point to the high valuation of reproduction reflected in Yao culture. This is consistent with their social structure, where the major corporate groups are kinship groups and reproduction is the principal method of recruitment to the group. Furthermore, because the standard of living is almost at subsistence level, children do not entail the economic losses they do in Western society. On the other hand, they are expected to support their aged parents when they themselves are economically independent. In other words, there are few factors militating against reproduction and many in favour of it.

We may expect the beliefs and customs surrounding child-birth to reflect the value of reproduction. For instance, the Yao distinguish clearly between women who have borne children and those who have not. When a girl becomes pregnant for the first time she undergoes a special ceremony (*litiño*) attended only by women who have borne children. This ceremony has many of the features of a *rite de passage* and appears to mark the passing of the woman to a new social status. Furthermore, women are ascribed status according to the number of children they have borne. The word *awwali* signifies a young woman who has not yet borne a child; *awwali*

[1] Between a third and a half of the marriages contracted by women had been dissolved by divorce by the time that the child-bearing period had ended.

6: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

ndembo, a woman who is pregnant for the first time;[1] *kacembere*, a woman who has one or two children; *mjembere*, a woman who has three or four children, and lastly, *akolwe*, a woman who is past child-bearing age.

The information which I have been able to collect on abortifacients and contraceptives suggests that they are not used by married people merely to prevent their having more children, but that they are used by people who wish to avoid pregnancies which would be embarrassing, for example, by a woman whose husband is a labour migrant. To what extent the abortifacients and contraceptives are efficacious I cannot say; some, I know for certain, rely on a magical principle, for example, the medicated cord worn by a man during intercourse. On the other hand, the abortifacients taken orally may have some active ingredient.

A barren woman or an impotent man is regarded with some embarrassment and the marriage sureties (*acinamangowe*) of a childless couple will go to considerable trouble and expense consulting diviners and leeches in an attempt to make their wards productive. Childless couples are regarded as not fully adult and are treated in a patronizing way by those who have borne children. Since a man may marry other wives, barrenness in a woman is a cause of sorrow to her husband, but is not in itself a ground for divorce. Where the man is impotent, however, the woman may divorce him on this ground, though she usually takes a paramour and forces her husband to an action for damages which automatically leads to a divorce because it is the usual practice in these cases for the court to ask the woman if she wants to be divorced from her husband.

In contrast to the satisfaction shown at the birth of a child is the sense of awe evinced when a child is still-born or the woman miscarries. The Yao do not distinguish between still-births and abortions, both events being known by the word *kwasanga*. This is a verb and refers to the process of abortion; there is no term for the dead foetus itself. I made no attempt to enumerate miscarriages and still-births because they are supposed to be due to breaches of sexual taboos on the part of the husband and wife, and interviewees were naturally reluctant to mention them. Miscarriages and still-births are greatly feared, and the woman is considered to be in a very dangerous condition until she and her husband have carried out a ritual purification. Should a man have intercourse with a woman who has miscarried and not yet been purified he will contract a disease called *lwaso* which is believed to be invariably fatal. Still-born children or aborted foetuses are buried in a hole dug with sharpened sticks in the bush by the women, whereas children who are born alive and die afterwards are buried in the graveyard in graves dug by men with hoes. The burial spots of still-born babies or aborted foetuses are marked with a stone or broken pottery, since it is believed that to step on them will induce an illness.

The concern of the interested kin-groups is shown in the child-birth procedure. Birth normally takes place in a hut in the presence of the older female relatives of the woman and the female representatives of the man. The husband's representatives are necessary because the Yao, like many other Central African peoples, believe that an adulterine child will not be born to the woman unless she confesses (*kupaca*) the name of the genitor. If she persists in concealing the identity of the genitor, they

[1] *ndembo* = elephant, hence ivory. The terms *litiko* and *ndembo* here both refer to the ivory beads traditionally worn by the woman in the pregnancy initiation ceremony.